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Author(s): Nancy Jo Nelson

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# The Zionist Organizational Structure

NANCY JO NELSON\*

In a democracy every group that affects public policy must be accountable to the entire citizenry. A democracy cannot survive if Iron Curtains are placed around groups, secular or religious, that intervene in public affairs.

Paul Blanchard<sup>1</sup>

In 1963, under the chairmanship of Senator J.W. Fulbright, the Committee on Foreign Relations of the US Senate began a series of hearings into the activities of foreign agents in the United States in order to make any necessary amendments to the Foreign Agents Registration Act of 1938. In two sessions, in May and August of that year, some interesting relationships were revealed among the major Jewish organizations which then dominated the Zionist "establishment" in the United States. Specifically dealt with for the period prior to 1960 were the Jewish Agency for Israel, Inc.; the Jewish Agency for Israel, Jerusalem (Jerusalem Agency); the United Israel Appeal, Inc.; the United Jewish Appeal; the American Zionist Council; and the American Israel Public Affairs Committee (AIPAC). A brief review of each of these organizations is essential for understanding the structure of the Zionist lobby in the aftermath of 1948 and the establishment of the State of Israel, and more particularly, for viewing the lobby as it operates today in the United States and plays a role in US foreign policy in the 1970's.

\* Nancy Jo Nelson is a graduate student in the Department of History at Georgetown University.

<sup>1</sup> Cited in Alfred M. Lilienthal, *The Zionist Connection* (New York: Dodd, Mead & Company, 1978), p. 403.

The Jewish Agency for Israel, Jerusalem, was originally an unincorporated association established in Switzerland in 1929 under the name of the Jewish Agency for Palestine. Under the League of Nations mandate, its headquarters were established in Jerusalem and it served "as the representative Jewish authority in Palestine vis-à-vis Britain" and later presented "the Jewish case before the United Nations."<sup>2</sup> In 1948, it reportedly ceased the performance of political functions and was designated as a non-governmental body whose aim was "rehabilitating and resettling" refugees in Israel. It has a board of directors called the Executive which acts both as an executive committee and also as an administrative body, with each individual member delegated specific functional responsibilities. The financing of the Agency is done entirely through worldwide contributions, 40 percent of which are donated by Americans through the tax-deductible United Jewish Appeal and Israel bonds.

The Jewish Agency for Israel, Inc., was initially established in the United States in 1944 as the representative office for the Jerusalem Agency, then under the name of the Jewish Agency for Palestine. After 1948 the name was changed and it was incorporated with its headquarters in New York. Prior to 1960, it was registered as a foreign agent of the Jerusalem Agency with the US Department of Justice under the terms of the Foreign Agents Registration Act of 1938. Its foreign principal was listed as the Jerusalem Agency and its direction came exclusively from the Executive in Jerusalem. There were six or seven members of the Executive resident in the United States "who would meet frequently and regularly for the purpose of conducting the affairs of the Jewish Agency...."<sup>3</sup> Overall policies, however, were formulated by all nineteen members of the Executive board in Jerusalem (all nineteen members of the Jerusalem Executive were simultaneously members of the corporation in New York). Functionally, the Jewish Agency for Israel, Inc., "represented the Jerusalem Agency..., carried out all of the functions of the fiscal agent, purchasing agent, as well as carrying on educational and informational activities in the United States."<sup>4</sup>

The United Israel Appeal, Inc., is a corporation which resulted from a merger between what were two competing organizations in the US raising money for the Jews in Palestine prior to 1927: the Palestine Foundation Fund and the Jewish National Fund. "For the sake of expediency, the two were combined for fund-raising purposes under an organization called the

<sup>2</sup> US Congress, Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, *Activities of Nondiplomatic Representatives of Foreign Principals in the United States*, 88th Congress, 1st session, May 23, 1963, Part 9 (Washington: US Government Printing Office, 1963), p. 1216.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 1230.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 1229.

United Palestine Appeal" in 1927.<sup>5</sup> After the establishment of Israel the name was changed to United Israel Appeal. The Palestine Foundation Fund, it should be noted, was itself a corporation of four constituent groups: the Zionist Organization of America, Hadassah (the Women's Zionist Organization of America), the Labour Zionist Organization of America, and the Mizrachi Organization.<sup>6</sup>

The United Jewish Appeal was established in 1938 to serve as an active fund-raising organization for both the United Israel Appeal and the American-Jewish Joint Distribution Committee. Usually about 67 percent of UJA funds would go to the United Israel Appeal and 33 percent would go to the Committee. At times, however, when the funds were especially large, United Israel Appeal would receive 75 percent of the UJA money. United Jewish Appeal funds, as well as Israel bonds, are tax-deductible in the United States under Internal Revenue Service law.

The American Zionist Council (AZC) was established as a tax-exempt and tax-deductible organization under the Internal Revenue Service as the overseer of eight constituent organizations:

- American Jewish League for Israel
- B'nai Zion
- Hadassah, Women's Zionist Organization of America
- Religious Zionists of America
- Labour Zionist Movement
- Progressive Zionist League – Hashomer Hatzair
- United Labour Zionist Party
- Zionist Organization of America

The Council itself undertook many different activities in the United States, each of which was coordinated by a specific committee. Of particular interest, because it is directed at public opinion, is the activity planning of the Committee on Information and Public Relations for the AZC. A sample AZC memorandum of this committee is reprinted below:

#### AMERICAN ZIONIST COUNCIL COMMITTEE ON INFORMATION AND PUBLIC RELATIONS

The Committee carries on a major part of its work through highly specialized subcommittees composed of professionals in specific areas of activity who volunteer their services to the American Zionist Council. It is the subcommittee chairmen who have been instrumental, for the most part, in mobilizing these experts to serve with them to help interpret Israel to the general American public. In addition, the

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 1232.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 1234.

AZC staff carries on a number of activities on its own without the benefit of these volunteers. [Emphasis added.]

The Committee plans to operate in the following areas during the 1962/63 budgetary year.

**1. Magazines**

Cultivation of editors.

Stimulation and placement of suitable articles in the major consumer magazines.

Reprinting and distribution of favourable materials which appear in the above publications.

Stimulation of articles in trade and specialized journals.

Liaison with writers resident in Israel via a literary agent in New York for ideas and placement.

**2. TV, Radio, Films**

The Department arranges for talks and interviews on radio and TV, and servicing of film requests.

It also cultivates leading personalities in these media.

It encourages networks and stations to create programmes revolving around Israel.

**3. Christian Religious Groups**

Cultivation of key religious leaders and groups.

Setting up seminars on Israel for Christian clergy.

Stimulating of positive articles in the Protestant and Catholic press.

Counteraction of hostile material in that press.

Reprints and distribution of favourable materials from the church press.

Stimulation of suitable articles in the journals of the Jewish religious groups.

**4. Academic Circles**

Support of the American Association for Middle East Studies.

Support of the Inter-University Committee on Israel.

Cultivation of leaders in the academic community.

Stimulation of "Israel Day" on college campuses.

Cooperation with colleges and universities in setting up of seminars on the Middle East.

Monitoring and counteraction of material in the campus press.

Stimulating of articles in academic journals.

Guidance to student Zionists and other Jewish students on Arab-Israeli issues.

Counteraction of hostile faculty and Arab students.

Preparation of materials for elementary and high school faculty.

**5. The Daily Press**

Cultivation of editors.

Stimulation of positive material via syndicated writers, columnists, etc.

Counteraction of hostile material.

Reprinting and distribution of favourable materials.

**6. Books**

Assistance to publishers in the promotion of worthwhile books.

Promotion of reviews of favourable books.

Distribution of books to public and college libraries.

*7. Speakers*

The Speakers Bureau will continue to utilize Israelis, American Christians and American Jews on academic, religious, civic and other platforms around the country for positive presentations on Israel.

*8. Liaison with organizations*, both on the national and local levels, especially those with an international relations programme.

Special liaison with the Negro community.

*9. Projects and Issues*

Issuance of special material and guidance on controversial issues such as Arab refugees, Syrian-Israeli situation, etc.

Programming for special occasions such as Yom Haatzmaut, etc.

*10. Visitors to Israel*

Subsidization to individual public opinion moulders to help provide them with an experience in Israel.

Inter-University Committee study tour to Israel.

Organize other tours in which public opinion moulders will participate.

Provide suitable arrangements in Israel for handling of American visitors.

*11. Counteracting the Opposition*

The monitoring and counteraction of all activities carried out here by the Arabs, American Friends of the Middle East and other hostile groups.

*12. Miscellaneous*

Answering requests for information and providing suitable literature for the many thousands of requests annually received.<sup>7</sup>

The American Israel Public Affairs Committee (AIPAC) was originally initiated in 1951 as a lobbying committee on behalf of the American Zionist Council. In 1954, the AZC terminated its connection with the activity "because its leaders did not want to use tax-exempt funds for lobbying."<sup>8</sup> The operation continued, however, under the name of the American Zionist Committee for Public Affairs; the name AIPAC was adopted in 1959.<sup>9</sup> In addition to being the executive director of AIPAC, Mr. Kenen began in 1957 to publish a fortnightly newsletter called the *Near East Report*, which reportedly is "not an organ of AIPAC," but which is sold as a subscription to AIPAC as well as on the open market. All members of Congress receive *Near East Report* free.

What the 1963 Fulbright hearings revealed essentially was that the organizations described above were united not only with regard to their aims and functions, *i.e.*, to promote the interests of the State of Israel in the

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 1339-40.

<sup>8</sup> US Congress, Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, *Activities of Nondiplomatic Representatives of Foreign Principals in the United States*, 88th Congress, 1st session, August 1, 1963, Part 12 (Washington: US Government Printing Office, 1963), p. 1779.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 1779.

United States in any way possible, but were in fact linked financially in a network whereby funds originating in the United States would be circulated overseas and then return in part to the US to help finance the propaganda activities of the American Zionist establishment. The United Jewish Appeal, as the fund-raising organization, would pass on over two-thirds of its collected funds to the United Israel Appeal, Inc., which would then, in return, channel the funds to the Jewish Agency for Israel, Inc. Since both the latter organization and the United Israel Appeal were located in the same building, at 515 Park Avenue in New York City, which was owned by the Jewish Agency for Israel, Inc., the transactions were easily accomplished. From the Jewish Agency for Israel the money could be funnelled in one of two directions: either it was sent to the Jerusalem Agency for use in Israel (the Jerusalem Agency was the foreign principal of the Jewish Agency for Israel), or it was passed along as part of money given to the American Zionist Council for their use and for its distribution among the constituent organizations and "projects" of AZC nationwide. Since the New York-based Jewish Agency for Israel, in principle, received its operating funds from the Jerusalem Agency, which was 40 percent supported by UJA funds from the United States, the money could, in fact, be rechannelled across the Atlantic for further use in the United States.

The American Zionist Council, in this circuit, served primarily as a "conduit" operation, and over an eight year period received over \$5,000,000 from the Jewish Agency. As the hearings brought out, the budget for the AZC was, in fact, approved directly by the Jewish Agency Executive in Jerusalem.<sup>10</sup> Among the many groups nationwide which received these funds via the AZC was the Zionist Organization of America "with the approval of the Jewish Agency for Israel, Jerusalem."<sup>11</sup> The ZOA, it should be noted, is itself directly affiliated to the World Zionist Organization, which is the parent body of the Jerusalem Agency, and whose headquarters are also in Jerusalem.

Use of the AZC as a conduit of funds coming from Jerusalem, or possibly even UJA funds that never left the United States, served to avoid the disclosure law which requires registered foreign agents to report their expenses to the Department of Justice: "the reports to the Department of Justice were in summary form, a lump-sum payment, a certain amount stated to affiliated organizations and the ultimate recipients of the funds were not stated...."<sup>12</sup> As Senator Fulbright pointed out, because the AZC was itself not registered with the Justice Department, it did not need to

<sup>10</sup> US Senate, Part 9, p. 1243.

<sup>11</sup> US Senate, Part 12, p. 1771.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 1708.

itemize in any form what it in turn did with the money.<sup>13</sup>

In 1960, a reorganization took place which only slightly altered this structural relationship. The Jewish Agency for Israel, Inc., which until then had been the foreign agent of the Jerusalem Agency, de-registered as a foreign agent after an internal reorganization designed to demonstrate American control over the corporation. Under the new arrangement, the United Israel Appeal, Inc., "became the major member controlling two-thirds of the Board of the reorganized [Jewish Agency for Israel]."<sup>14</sup> The other one-third was represented by the Jewish Agency-American Section, Inc., which that year registered as the official foreign agent of the Executive of the Jewish Agency for Israel in Jerusalem. The Executive that year was known to have twenty-two members, six of whom lived in the United States, and at least one of whom was a member of the Israeli government.<sup>15</sup>

Under the new arrangement, the Jerusalem Agency, which had formerly controlled the Jewish Agency for Israel, Inc., was now reportedly directed by the Jewish Agency for Israel, Inc., and the Jerusalem Agency, in turn, controlled the new registered foreign agent, the Jewish Agency-American Section, Inc., in New York. Both the Jewish Agency for Israel, Inc., and the American Section continued to share the building at 515 Park Avenue in New York City (the ownership of the address was still listed as the Jewish Agency for Israel, Inc.) along with several other Zionist organizations which functioned nationally.

The new function for the Jewish Agency for Israel, Inc., as the transmitter of UJA funds (its controlling member being UIA) to Jerusalem reveals that there were tax reasons behind the reorganization initiative. According to Mr. Gottlieb Hammer, who was executive director of the Jewish Agency for Israel, Inc., prior to 1960, the reorganization was undertaken after the then Undersecretary of the Treasury, Mr. Fred Scribner, had registered the concern of the Treasury Department and the Internal Revenue Service that "there were a number of organizations which he termed 'conduit' organizations" which funnelled domestic funds overseas.<sup>16</sup> By making the Jewish Agency for Israel, Inc., an American-controlled corporation and giving "it the function of controlling American funds intended for use overseas,"<sup>17</sup> it was hoped to avoid any problems with the US Internal Revenue Service concerning the use of the UJA tax-deductible funds.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 1708.

<sup>14</sup> US Senate, Part 9, p. 1230.

<sup>15</sup> US Senate, Part 12, p. 1704.

<sup>16</sup> US Senate, Part 9, p. 1235.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 1231.

Proving American control over the actual utilization of UJA funds in Israel before the Fulbright Senate Committee proved to be difficult for the representatives of the US corporations involved, particularly after there was considerable doubt raised as to the actual nature of the relationship between the Jerusalem Agency and the Israeli government. Evidence introduced during the hearings<sup>18</sup> suggested that the "Jewish Agency was a representative of the Israeli government." The facts tend to support the idea. For example, UJA funds and Israel bonds are tax-exempt and reported as charity in the United States. Once in Israel, however, and reportedly under the control of the Jewish Agency, and under the direction of the UIA in New York, the funds "are tax-exempt because they are regarded as government revenue."<sup>19</sup> Unless the Jewish Agency is itself related to the government of Israel in an official way, such a classification would be fraudulent. Equally interesting are the circumstances under which the Jewish Agency-American Section (under direct control of the Jerusalem Agency) published the *Israel Digest* for distribution in the United States. The hearings disclosed that 50 percent of the subscriptions for the *Israel Digest* were being purchased by the Israeli government via the Israeli Consulate in Washington, D.C. The Consulate simply supplied the American Section with a mailing list, and the Jewish Agency would itself mail out the issues, and would later be reimbursed by Washington. As Senator Fulbright pointed out, the distinction between being a subscriber for 50 percent of a product and being a full partner was less than clear.<sup>20</sup> And further linking the two, it was established that there existed a joint fund of money contributed by the Jewish Agency-American Section and by the Israel Office of Information, which is part of the Israeli government, used for "public information activities, and the care of Israeli students in American universities."<sup>21</sup>

Several other relationships in the post-1960 period are worth mentioning from the findings of the Fulbright hearings. First, the American Zionist Council continued to serve as a conduit of funds, usually by way of the Jewish Agency-American Section in New York but, on at least one occasion, receiving its financing directly from the Jerusalem Agency.<sup>22</sup> The AZC, in turn, submitted "accounts" to the Jewish Agency to indicate how the money had been spent.<sup>23</sup> In addition, a financial relationship was estab-

<sup>18</sup> US Senate, Part 12, p. 1710.

<sup>19</sup> Russell Warren Howe and Sarah Hays Trott, *The Power Peddlers* (New York: Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1977), p. 291.

<sup>20</sup> US Senate, Part 12, p. 1750.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 1720.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 1704.

<sup>23</sup> US Senate, Part 9, p. 1245.

lished in this time frame between the Jewish Agency-American Section and the American Jewish Congress, a nationalist-minded organization established in 1918 whose first president, Stephen Wise, was in the forefront of American Zionists.<sup>24</sup> The Congress was undertaking a project at the time which was supported not only by the American Section, but also, interestingly enough, by the Israeli Office of Information.<sup>25</sup>

Next, it was learned that the Jewish Agency-American Section was supplying over one-half the entire budget, as well as providing office space at 515 Park Avenue, for the Conference of Presidents of Major American Jewish Organizations, of which the American Section was also a member.<sup>26</sup> The "Presidents Conference" as it is more commonly referred to, is believed to be "the Jewish lobby with the most White House access...."<sup>27</sup> Likewise, payments by the Jewish Agency to the Jewish Telegraphic Agency (JTA), a supposedly "independent news agency," revealed that the Jewish Agency for Israel, Inc., held the voting shares of the JTA.<sup>28</sup> And in another disclosure it was discovered that Mr. I.L. Kenen of AIPAC was receiving money from the Jewish Agency via the American Zionist Council as a conduit, purportedly to pay for subscriptions ordered by the AZC for *Near East Report*. Kenen, who at the time was a registered lobbyist under the domestic lobbying law, was then receiving, albeit indirectly, funds from a registered foreign agent. The difference between being on the payroll and receiving a large percentage of subscription money from a foreign source was difficult to see. Committee Chairman Fulbright repeatedly questioned why Mr. Kenen himself should not be registered as a foreign agent, as he would have been lawfully required to do if the funds had been received directly from the Agency, or as Fulbright suggested, from the Israeli government itself.<sup>29</sup>

In essence, what the Fulbright hearings demonstrated in revealing the various financial interrelationships cited above is that "the very definitive ties set out in Israel between the Jewish Agency, a public body operating in the US, and the government of Israel, subject American citizens and taxpayers to direct influence of a foreign government."<sup>30</sup> In the aftermath of the hearings, effective on October 1, 1966, the Department of Justice did add amendments to the Foreign Agents Registration Act of 1938 in an attempt to remove the legal loopholes that indirectly allowed this situation,

<sup>24</sup> US Senate, Part 12, p. 1717.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 1717.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 1757.

<sup>27</sup> Howe and Trott, p. 291.

<sup>28</sup> US Senate, Part 9, p. 1285.

<sup>29</sup> US Senate, Part 12, p. 1741.

<sup>30</sup> Lilienthal, p. 209.

and the American Zionist Council was itself abolished as a conduit operation (its constituent organizations are still, however, all actively functioning nationwide). The question remains whether in fact today the American public is more cognizant of the full scope of influences that the government of Israel, by way of the Jewish Agency, exercises over the "pro-Israel lobby" in this country, and indeed, over the entire policy of the US in the Middle East. Some later developments illustrate the importance of the question.

In 1968 a suit was filed against the B'nai B'rith by a former high official of that organization, Saul E. Joftes, which charged that "the Zionists have used B'nai B'rith, a charitable, religious, tax-exempt American-membership organization, to pursue international political activities contrary to the B'nai B'rith constitution and in violation of federal foreign agent registration and tax laws."<sup>31</sup> Joftes, who served as B'nai B'rith's Secretary General of the International Council, produced case documents for the Federal District Court in Washington showing "a number of extraordinary relationships between B'nai B'rith, the Zionist establishment and Israel."<sup>32</sup> The suit was carried successfully to the Supreme Court despite attorneys' efforts to stall adjudication for almost four years, and eventually showed that charitable deductible funds were diverted into Israel-related projects of a political or quasi-political nature.<sup>33</sup>

In August 1969, the Justice Department, under pressure from George Washington University law professor, W.T. Mallison, Jr., "forced the Jewish Agency's New York office to file its Covenant linking it to the Israeli government as part of its foreign registration."<sup>34</sup> This action of the Department was taken in accordance with that part of the Foreign Agents Registration Act, Section 2, part 3, which requires a registrant to show the extent to which it "is supervised, directed, owned, controlled, financed, or subsidized, in whole or in part, by any government of a foreign country...."<sup>35</sup> The "Covenant," as the 1954 agreement between the Jewish Agency and the Israeli government is called, "defines the Jewish Agency's functions in broad terms: immigration, agricultural settlement, land acquisition, development enterprises, private investments, cultural activities and financing."<sup>36</sup> It is, then, in effect an Israeli "shadow government," and is probably one of the "best-financed" organizations in the world, according to

<sup>31</sup> Lawrence Mosher, "Zionist Role in US Raises New Concern," *The National Observer*, May 18, 1970.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>33</sup> Linenthal, p. 209.

<sup>34</sup> Mosher.

<sup>35</sup> US Department of Justice, *The Foreign Agents Registration Act of 1938 as Amended*, p. 15.

<sup>36</sup> Mosher.

one Reform rabbi in the United States. Its workings with United Jewish Appeal funds literally "embrace an entire nation."<sup>37</sup>

The UJA-Israeli government connection has itself apparently not been a mystery to some members of the US government for quite a while. For example, as early as 1956, when "Jewish lobbyists complained about Eisenhower's attitude to the Israeli Suez invasion of 1956, State Secretary John Foster Dulles threatened to have the Appeal's tax-exempt status lifted."<sup>38</sup> Senator J. William Fulbright clarified the issue in the late 1960's, by pointing out that the UJA campaign "is tax-deductible" and "adds to the foreign exchange of Israel for the purchase of anything, including arms."<sup>39</sup>

In 1971, another reorganization of the Zionist organizational structure in the US was undertaken. On October 29, 1971, the Jewish Agency-American Section, Inc., advised the Department of Justice that it was no longer engaging in activities requiring registration under the Foreign Agents Registration Act. Its registration was terminated as of that date. The "replacement" for the Agency was the World Zionist Organization-American Section, Inc., which registered a month earlier, on September 21, 1971, as the foreign agent of the Executive of the World Zionist Organization, Jerusalem, Israel. Mr. Isadore Hamlin, executive director of the Jewish Agency-American Section, continued his role as the executive director of the new WZO-American Section. The WZO-American Section continues to publish and distribute *Israel Digest*, and the address of the new registrant remains at 515 Park Avenue in New York City.

The new arrangement did not appear to alter the basic organizational structure of the relationship between the Zionist establishment in the US and the State of Israel, as it is legally tied to the Executive of the Jerusalem Agency. The World Zionist Organization, which is the foreign principal of the WZO-American Section in New York, is in fact the parent body of the Jewish Agency in Jerusalem. As was established during the Fulbright hearings, the president of the Jewish Agency-Executive in Jerusalem was also the president of the World Zionist Organization.<sup>40</sup> Although under the WZO-American Section 1971 registration statement listed with the Justice Department, the organization claims not to be owned, directed, controlled, financed, or in any way subsidized by a foreign government, this statement must be reviewed in the light of the relationships cited above between the Jewish Agency and the government of Israel.

In more recent years, there is in fact evidence, although no *proven*

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>38</sup> Howe and Trott, p. 291.

<sup>39</sup> Mosher.

<sup>40</sup> US Senate, Part 9, p. 1363.

financial connections, that the Zionist establishment has maintained a cohesive and highly organized framework within which to relay the wishes of the State of Israel to the American public and policy-makers. For example, a five-page confidential B'nai B'rith memorandum of May 7, 1974, entitled "Tasks Confronting B'nai B'rith," and described as being "of the most sensitive nature," is revealing of the wide range of activities in Washington that B'nai B'rith, one of the major actors today, was undertaking after the 1973 war. The memorandum cites the activities as necessary after the "heavy losses suffered by Israel in men and equipment... since it is our duty *to maintain pressure* to secure the greatest possible US support for Israel's needs."<sup>41</sup> [Emphasis added.]

Other organizations have also become increasingly political in mobilizing support for Israel, or conversely, attacking any and all opponents, and at times even attacking neutrals for their lack of direct support. Like B'nai B'rith, the American Jewish Committee and the Anti-Defamation League "originally made their mark fighting discrimination and prejudice and only later turned to mobilizing support for Israel."<sup>42</sup> Although the amount of direct lobbying such groups do is limited by their tax status (contributions are exempt), "they have influence as sources of information to their members and the public through mailings and publications and as forums for political figures."<sup>43</sup> Even more important, they have undeniable clout with the mass media in the country at large. For example:

... in 1970 alone, the Mass Media Committee of the Presidents Conference prepared and distributed press relations kits containing feature stories on Israel, captioned photographs in mat form, and a supplementary service of additional features with photographs to 1,700 daily newspapers around the country. In addition, 1,000 newspapers with circulations under 5,000 were sent mat features (photos plus text) on Israel. These local-targeted activities supplemented the more routine efforts to have feature articles prepared by Conference staff members accepted by the national and international news services. The scorecard for 1970 included: 17 captioned photographs on life in Israel accepted by the Associated Press; 14 different photos selected by United Press International for distribution to clients; two feature stories and photographs included in *Parade Magazine* (a Sunday supplement with total circulation of more than 14 million); and assorted Israeli anniversary materials accepted by *Family Week*, Central Press and the North American Newspaper Alliance. Thus, at virtually every level of media organization — from local communities, syndicated columnists and major national papers, to the international news services that supply the country with infor-

<sup>41</sup> Lilienthal, p. 798, footnote 4, referring to p. 209 in text.

<sup>42</sup> "Washington: Jewish and Arab Lobbyists," *Harper's* (April 1978), p. 10.

<sup>43</sup> *The Middle East: US Policy, Israel, Oil and the Arabs*, Third Edition, Congressional Quarterly, Inc., September, 1977, p. 98.

mation – pro-Israel groups were ... successful... in getting their side of the story transmitted to both the articulate and mass publics.<sup>44</sup>

Although in the absence of further public investigations or hearings into the financial affairs of the pro-Israel lobby, it is not possible to prove concrete structural relationships among its major actors in the 1970's, it is possible to identify the general organizational characteristics which aid the effective functioning of the active groups. First, it should be noted that the American Jewish community in the 1970's is itself a large organizational complex made up of "more than 300 nationwide organizations with thousands of local branches, 4,500 synagogues, 300 local Jewish community centres, hundreds of clubs and professional associations, 2,800 schools, several dozen higher academic institutions, 67 hospitals, 2 daily newspapers, over a hundred weekly papers and several hundred magazines and bulletins published by Jewish organizations."<sup>45</sup> It is undoubtedly this system of closely connected socio-political, cultural, educational, professional, religious, "charitable" and other Jewish organizations in the United States that is the chief basis of the political activity of American Zionists.

A glance at the *American Jewish Year Book*, 1976, lists only 64 organizations as having Zionist or pro-Israel functions in the chapter on "National Jewish Organizations."<sup>46</sup> Yet a cross-check to the chapter "Jewish Community Responds to Issues" lists many organizations with supposedly non-political functions as undertaking political actions in support of Israel. For example, it lists the Central Conference of American Rabbis, a "religious educational organization," as promising on March 13, 1976, "to aid and support Israel with new programmes of education, fund-raising, and *political-action*." [Emphasis added.] And on March 19 of that year, the Rabbis issued a "proclamation of solidarity with state and people of Israel."<sup>47</sup>

In a 1976 study, it was determined that "the multi-tiered structural pyramid that links individual Jews in local communities across the country to centralized national foreign policy leadership groups in Washington and New York is the primary organizational factor that can explain the ability of the pro-Israel movement to mobilize rapidly and in a coordinated fashion on

<sup>44</sup> Robert H. Trice, *Interest Groups and the Foreign Policy Process: US Policy in the Middle East*, International Studies Series 02-047, Vol. 4 (Beverly Hills: Sage Publications, 1976), p. 65.

<sup>45</sup> S. M. Rogov, "The American Jewish Community and Israel," *USA: Economy, Politics, Ideology* (US Joint Publications Research Service 72069, October 18, 1978), p. 72. English translation of article which appeared in Russian in *Ekonomika, Politika, Ideologiya*, Moscow SSSA, No. 8 (August 1978), pp. 70-71.

<sup>46</sup> *American Jewish Year Book*, 1976, published by the American Jewish Committee, pp. 448-83.

<sup>47</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 183-84.

a national scale when important foreign policy issues arise.”<sup>48</sup> The centralized leadership groups, such as the Presidents Conference and AIPAC, are able quite simply to communicate their wishes to the entire organized community through “the bureaucratic machines that have been built” by the major Jewish organizations in the United States.<sup>49</sup> As a result, the ability of pro-Israel groups to marshall and maintain the support of the mass media, mass public opinion and “broad cross-sections of associational life in this country such as organized labour and non-Jewish interest groups,” extends far beyond the limits of their own organizational structures.<sup>50</sup>

The effect of this influence on the foreign policy of the United States, then, is hardly a factor which can or should be ignored. That the issues in the Middle East are vital for the interests of the United States is not a matter of debate — they are clearly the focus of US policy-makers’ time and attention in foreign affairs. What is debatable is whether the pro-Israel lobby, through this massive organized structure, has allowed and continues to allow the issues to be clearly and objectively dealt with by both policy-makers and the public in the United States.

<sup>48</sup> Trice, p. 54.

<sup>49</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 53.

<sup>50</sup> Robert H. Trice, “Congress and the Arab-Israeli Conflict: Support for Israel in the US Senate, 1970-1973,” *Political Science Quarterly*, Vol. 92, No. 3 (Autumn 1977), p. 463.